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PEACE DEMANDS A POLICY

Address by Senator Henry M. Jackson

Member, Senate Armed Services Committee  
Senate Government Operations Committee  
Chairman, Military Applications Subcommittee  
Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

For delivery  
before the  
ANNUAL DINNER  
of the  
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW  
Washington, D. C.

May 2, 1959  
9 p.m.

Mr. Chairman, members and friends of the American Society of International Law, I am very grateful for this opportunity to join you at your annual dinner.

The power of the most powerful country in the world -- the United States -- stands behind the concept of international law embodied in the United Nations Charter. The Charter was drafted and accepted by the nations of the world after free debate and discussion. We have used our power in support of a body of law which we helped to define but which we did not dictate. This is a fact in which we may take just pride.

The United States and the free world face a critical challenge. Essentially this is a challenge to world order by a powerful bloc of states which does not wish to abide by the principles of law which it helped to draft and which it freely accepted.

The Soviet bloc is, in the strictest sense, a law-breaker. Like any law-breaker it can be and will be restrained only by fear of the consequences of violating the law.

The purpose of our national defense policy is to build a deterrent to the violation of international law by lawless states. We are making our great investment in defense in order to preserve an opportunity to carry out a positive program for creating a peaceful world.

I think that it might be helpful to the American people to look at our defense program in this light. This program is not negative and hold-the-line. It is an essential, an indispensable part of the constructive task of building a peaceful world system -- a world, in the common phrase, of law and order.

What task could be more positive, more hopeful! The price of failure is not a lawless world but the imposition of an order incompatible with our values.

As I see it, the central issue today is this: Can a free society organize itself to outperform totalitarianism? Can the free nations which support the law maintain preponderance over the nations which challenge the law?

In world affairs, as in the daily business of life, the one who gets ahead is the one who knows exactly what he wants and how he plans to get it. This describes the Russians; it does not describe us. The Soviet leaders are purposeful, hard-driving, determined men.

They think in terms of power. Superior power, they believe, will eventually prevail. They intend to win the struggle for power and believe if they do, world domination will follow.

Today our own power as against that of the Communist Bloc is in decline. We are losing ground in one vital area after another -- military strength, economic capability, scientific capacity, political impact, and psychological influence.

The results of a continuation of this decline are clear and predictable. An alliance system can be no stronger than its strongest partner. The combination of mounting Communist power and waning American power will produce a series of setbacks for the free world. Finally, as the end result of retreat after retreat, we will stand at bay -- alone and without hope.

No one, I think, has ever won a struggle without a policy for winning it. I believe our main difficulty is that we do not have such a national policy for the contest with the Sino-Soviet bloc.

You know well enough that there is no lack of good ideas as to what this nation needs to do.

University center after university center, committee after committee, proposes programs to fortify our position.

These ideas are not contradicted. But neither are they acted upon. Over and over again, good ideas fail to get to the top level of government for decision. Over and over again, vital questions fail to come before the highest officials in such a way that those officials have to face them and come to a conclusion -- one way or the other. And of what use are all the good ideas and policy studies if nothing is ever done with them?

With these considerations in mind, I have initiated a special Senate study of our national policy-making machinery. The study will be conducted in a non-partisan manner.

We will be looking for improvements in two main areas: First: better ways to stimulate deep, sustained, creative thinking about the full range of problems confronting the nation; and Second: better methods to formulate and carry out a coordinated and purposeful national policy at the Presidential level.

In connection with our Senate inquiry, I am introducing a bill to create an Academy of National Policy.

This proposal is only one of a number of constructive suggestions I hope Congress will bring forward. I am introducing this proposal this early in our inquiry in order to stimulate discussion and to provide a focus for public hearings during this session of Congress.

The Academy of National Policy is designed to meet an important unfilled need in the structure of our government.

Nowhere in the government, save in the person of the President himself, is there anyone whose responsibility it is to study national policy in the round and to bring to bear on policy making the whole range of considerations, short-term and long-term, domestic and foreign, political, economic, and

... influence our conduct of foreign affairs.

It may be thought that this task is being performed, or at any rate should be performed, by the National Security Council. But the NSC does not and cannot do basic, across-the-board, long-term thinking. It is dependent on executive departments and agencies with specific areas of interest and responsibility. Its members are necessarily preoccupied with pressing matters which demand immediate consideration and decision. Seldom do these men have the chance or indeed the inclination for the kind of study and deliberation which should provide a background for policy-making.

The Academy of National Policy is an effort to provide assistance to the President and the members of the NSC in their difficult and demanding responsibilities.

The Academy would make studies of national security policy in the broadest sense. It could initiate such studies as it deemed necessary and submit them to the President or to any level of government.

The Academy would be governed by a small Board of Trustees, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The Board of Trustees would appoint the Director of the Academy, who in turn, subject to the direction and approval of the Trustees, would make appointments to the Academy, and organize and direct its work.

The Academy would be composed of a small nucleus of acknowledged authorities, qualified by training and experience, who would have the opportunity for creative, reflective thought. They would be persons of demonstrated ability. Appointment to the Academy would be a recognition of their accomplishments and would carry great prestige.

This would not be a group of "armchair experts" or an advisory body of "elder statesmen". This would be a team that is on the field, not in the

... an "All-American team" of thinkers.

There is no thought of interfering with the President and the National Security Council in their fulfillment of their tasks. On the contrary, the Academy would serve them only as its studies were of assistance to them in their work. For this reason, the Academy should at once be independent of the President and the NSC, and yet should have access to them. The President and the NSC would make such use of the Academy's studies and recommendations as they saw fit.

The Academy could perform another valuable service to the country. Our national security policies can be no stronger than the support they receive from the Congress and the public. We have learned from the experience with the Council of Economic Advisers that an annual review of the country's economic position can be of great use. A similar review by the Academy of the country's position in the world might be an important contribution to an informed public opinion, which is essential to the sustained effort we are required to make.

For this reason the bill will call upon the Academy to prepare an annual review or report, which is to be submitted to the President and transmitted to the Congress by him with his comments in January of each year.

As in the case of the President's Economic Report and the report of the Council of Economic Advisers, I think it possible and even likely that the Congress would wish to find ways of considering this report as a background for its consideration of national security legislation.

The Academy might also be helpful in stimulating the Executive departments and agencies concerned with national security policy to consider their programs in relation to the whole thrust of our national policy. For this

reason the Academy will be authorized to maintain close relations with the Executive departments and agencies, to receive information from them, and to transmit its studies to them.

There is a vast reservoir of talent in this country which is not being used to full effectiveness in meeting the urgent issues of national policy. The Academy would provide a means for making use of these talents. Certainly, we can ill afford not to bring our best minds to bear on the problems of national survival and the building of a peaceful and orderly world.

In comparison with the sums we are spending on national security, the amount required for the Academy is incredibly small. This billion dollars worth of brains will cost little more, I suspect, than the sums spent on shoelaces for the armed services. I cannot imagine any other expenditure which could conceivably earn as high a return per dollar invested, for ideas are still the indispensable foundation of policy.

That something can be done is evidenced by the important work being carried on in centers of international study at so many of our universities. The difficulty is to bring this work meaningfully to bear on national policy. By virtue of its relations with the Executive Branch, the Academy would be in a position to gain an audience for its views. It would, I am confident, provide a channel by which excellent work being done around the country could be introduced into the consideration of national policy. One would expect the members of the Academy to develop and maintain close relations with university centers throughout the country.

I am convinced that if the Academy is to perform effectively, it should be small, so small that its members would know each other well and gain the kind of intellectual intimacy essential to creative yet disciplined thought. It would not engage in the kind of research which requires vast

equipment and paraphernalia. It would not compete with those "think groups" like the RAND Corporation, the Operations Research Office, and the Institute for Defense Analysis which have been and are of such assistance to the armed services. Rather, it would be engaged in the kind of thoughtful consideration of objectives, capabilities and policies in the broad sense which is needed to bring coherence and positive purpose to our total national effort.

Of course the Academy would be only part of the answer to an adequate national strategy.

We need vigorous and imaginative national leadership.

We need receptivity to ideas in high places.

We need more top talent in the public service.

We need further improvements in the mechanisms and procedures of our government.

My point is simply that the Academy of National Policy would fill a conspicuous gap in the structure of our government. It could provide continuing and reflective thought of a non-partisan kind on the full range of problems confronting us. It could bring this thought to bear on national policy-making, and contribute to informed public opinion.

In conclusion, let me say this:

A disturbing picture haunts the mind of many thoughtful people. It is the picture of future generations, sitting amid the ruins and remnants of our free civilization, vainly wishing they might recover the chance we have in our hands now.

Today we have the opportunity. There is a world community to build -- in the interests not just of ourselves -- but of the rest of the world as well.

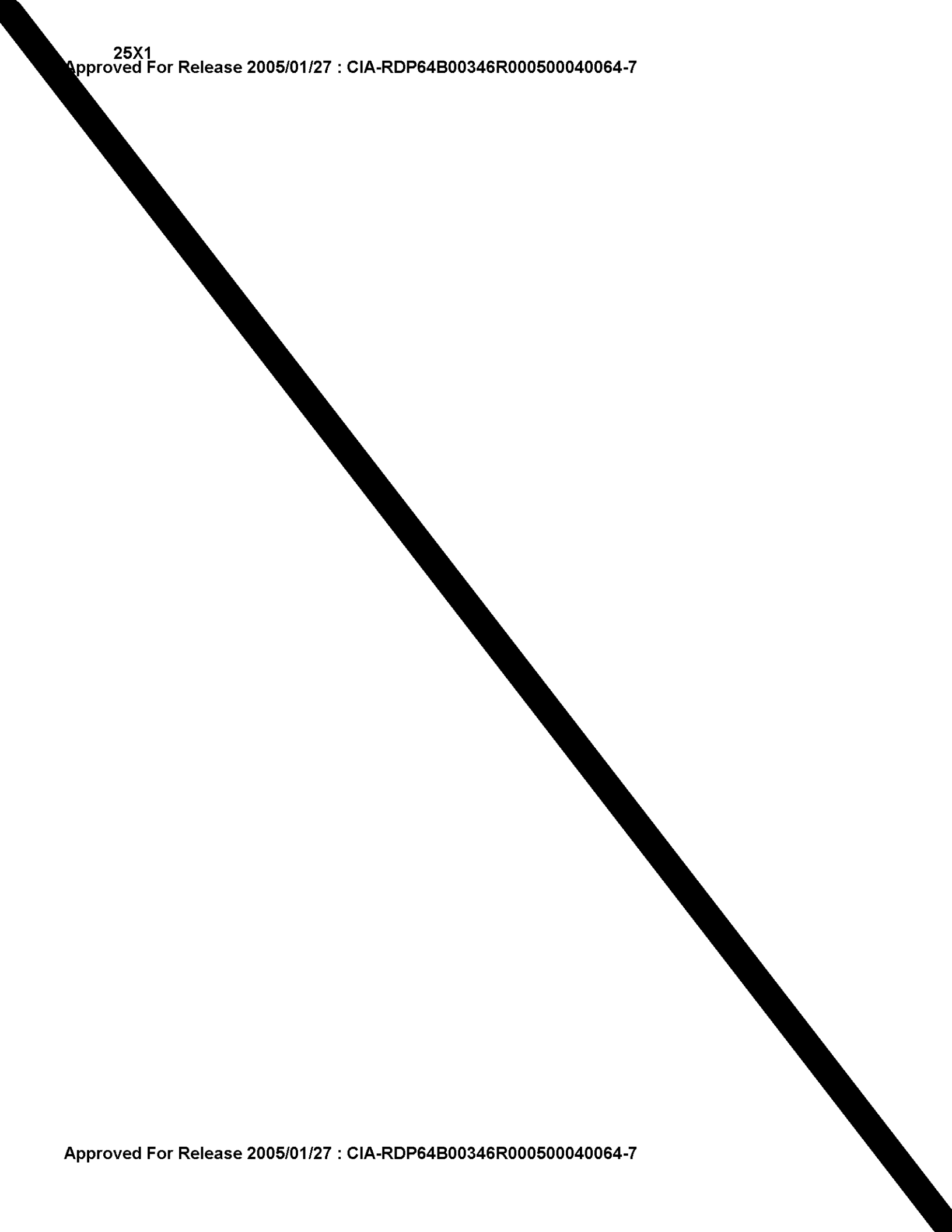
In the words of Woodrow Wilson:

"There are many voices of counsel, but few voices of vision; there is much excitement and feverish activity, but little concert of thoughtful purpose. We are distressed by our own ungoverned, undirected energies and do many things, but nothing long.

"It is our duty to find ourselves."

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